

CULTS OF ISIS IN DALMATIA

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Izvorni znanstveni rad

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Izidini kultovi potvrđeni su nizom predmetnih i epigrafskih izvora u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Uglavnom su nađeni u istočnojadranskim lukama, Seniji, Jaderu, Enoni, Saloni i Naroni. Najranije potvrde datiraju se u doba Flavijevaca (1. stoljeće), a najkasnije u 3. stoljeće. Pet natpisa pruža najvažnije informacije o prihvatanju Izidinih kultova u Dalmaciji. Reprezentativni figuralni spomenici upućuju na postojanje više javnih svetišta Izide i Serapisa u navedenim gradovima. Izvori svjedoče da je Izida u Dalmaciji, poput domaćih božica, štovana zbog svojih iscjeliteljskih moći, zatim kao ona koja jamči sigurnu plovidbu te kao zaštitnica careva koji su promicali njezin kult.

The Roman province Dalmatia was established at the beginning of the 1st century AD, but different aspects of Roman civilisation were introduced there even earlier, especially in the main urban centres that emerged in the eastern Adriatic seaboard. Cults of Isis have been shown to exist there from the latter half of the 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD by artefacts and epigraphic evidence, mainly found in the crowded sea harbours. In this paper I shall present them in chronological order and endeavour to explain the context surrounding their acceptance. I shall focus only on epigraphic material and typical statues which probably adorned temples, since these monuments clearly testify to the followers and practices of cults of Isis. Numerous monuments of unknown provenance and those found in funeral contexts, gems, lamps, amulets or small statues, which probably had magical or apotropaic significance, will not be considered.¹

¹ All the monuments related to gods of Isiac circle were analysed and interpreted by Croatian

Chronologically, the first testimonies of cults of Isis in Dalmatia can approximately be dated to the latter half of the 1st century AD – during the reign of Flavian dynasty. This is not surprising, since it is known that a major impetus for the appropriation of cults of Isis across the Empire occurred at the same time, when Flavian emperors (69-96 AD) actively supported them: Vespasian sought the confirmation of the god Serapis to be proclaimed emperor in Alexandria in 69 AD and during that same year Domitian, dressed as an Isiac priest, escaped the troops of Vitellius. Furthermore, Vespasian and his son Titus ordered the con-

scholars, mainly by P. Selem (»Egipatska prisutnost u našoj antici« *Telegram* 88, Zagreb, 29. XII. 1961., p. 4; »Egipatska božanstva u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu«, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* /later *VAHD*/, LXI /1959/, Split, 1963., pp. 94-110; »Egipatski šauabtji i amuleti u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu«, *VAHD*, LXIII-LXIV, 1961-1962., Split, 1969., pp. 125-144; »Boginja s tisuću imena«, *Hrvatski znanstveni zbornik*, vol. 1, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1971., pp. 291-332; »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* IX/7, Sarajevo, 1972., pp. 5-104; »Nekoliko zapažanja o difuziji egipatskih kultova po rimskoj Dalmaciji«, *VAHD* LXXII-LXXIII, Split, 1979., pp. 79-92; *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split, 1997.; »Egipatska teoforna imena na tlu Hrvatske«, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 23-24, Zagreb, 1999-2000., 109-114; »Ikono grafija lika Harpokrata na spomenicima hrvatskog prostora«, *Signa et litterae*, vol. I, FF Press, Zagreb, 2002., pp. 85-97; »Quelques indices sur les relations entre les divinités autochtones et orientales en Dalmatie romaine«, *Illyrica antiqua ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević*, *Radovi s međunarodnoga skupa o problemima antičke arheologije*, Zagreb, 6 – 8. XI. 2003, ur. I. Mirnik, M. Šegvić, FF Press, Zagreb, 2005., 425-432; *Lica bogova*, Izabrana djela, vol. 1, ed. I. Vilogorac Brčić, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 2008.; »Jadran – Izidinsko more«, *Histria Antiqua*, 18, Pula, 2009., pp. 177-183; »Jupiter-Amon na srednjem Jadranu«, *Signa et litterae*, vol. IV, FF Press, Zagreb, 2013.; »Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones Salonitani« /later *ROMIS*, coauthor I. Vilogorac Brčić/, *Signa et litterae*, vol. III, FF Press, Zagreb, 2012.; »Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones ex Croatia« /later *ROMIC I*, coauthor I. Vilogorac Brčić/, vol. I, *Signa et litterae*, vol. V, FF Press, Zagreb, 2015); A. Bugarski-Mesdjian (»Les 'Cultes Orientaux' en Dalmatie romaine. Orijentalni kultovi' u rimskoj Dalmaciji«, *VAHD*, 96, Split, pp. 563-717.; »Traces d'Égypte en Dalmatie romaine: Culte, mode et pouvoir«, *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World*, ed. L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, P. G.P. Meyboom, Brill, Leiden, 2006., pp. 289-328); K. A. Giunio (»Egyptian gods on the Eastern Adriatic coast«, *Aegyptus and Pannonia* vol. 1, ed. H. Györi, Z. Mráv, Budapest, 2002., pp. 21-63, 2005.,; »Religion and myth on monuments from Zadar and surroundings in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar«, *Akti VIII. međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog stvaralaštva*, Zagreb, 2005., pp. 213-222) and M. Tomorad (»The phases of penetration and diffusion of Egyptian artefacts and cults in the region of Istria and Illyricum /from the 7th c. B.C. to the 4th c. A.D./« in *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, vol. V, Budapest, 2013., pp. 185-226; »The two unpublished shabtis from Krk /Croatia/« *The Journal of Egyptological Studies* IV, 2015., pp. 141-146; »The Early Penetration of Ancient Egyptian Artifacts and Dissemination of the Cults of Egyptian Divinities in Istria and Illyricum /1st Millennium B.C.-1st Century A.D./«, in *A History of Research into Ancient Egyptian Culture conducted in Southeast Europe*, ed. M. Tomorad, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2015., pp. 167-200; »Shabtis from the Museum and Private Collections in Croatia: Dating and Typological Study«, in *Egypt 2015: Perspectives of Research - Proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists. 2nd-7th June 2014*, Zagreb, Croatia, ed. M. Tomorad, J. Popielsak-Grzybowska, Oxford 2017., pp. 219-239).



Inscription of Titus Flavius Laedio from Diluntum
(Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu)

struction of Serapis' temple at Campus Martius and they slept there before their triumph in the year 71 AD.²

Two Dalmatian monuments have been reliably dated to Flavian times. They were found in urban centres where monumental *Augustea*, temples of the Imperial cult, were erected. The first one is a funeral altar found in municipium *Diluntum*, in the hinterland of Naronā.³ On its front there is the inscription which states

² P. Selem, *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 39-40; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 47-48; L. Bricault, *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde greco-romain*, Les belles lettres, Paris, 2013., pp. 97-99; G. Capriotti Vittozzi, »The Flavians: Pharaonic Kingship between Egypt and Rome«, *Power, politics and cults of Isis, Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of Isis Studies, Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13–15, 2011*, ed. L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2014., pp. 237-259.

³ Dimensions: 111 x 143 x 80 cm. Location: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. References: D. Sergejevski, *Vodič po zbirci kamenih spomenika Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo, 1947., pp. 16-17; *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* (later *GZM*), 3, p. 168; D. Rendić-Miočević, »Ilirska onomastika na latinskim natpisima Dalmacije«, *VAHD*, LII, Split, 1950. (1935-1949), no. III, p. 47; *Iliri i antički svijet*, Književni krug, Split, 1989., pp. 632, *ILJug* 58, 117; N. Cambi, »Nove potvrde egipatskih kultova u antičkoj provinciji Dalmaciji«, *VAHD*, LXV-LXVII (1963-1965), Split, 1971., pp. 85-112. 105; P. Selem »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku« *op. cit.* (1), p. 23; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 114-115, 5. 4; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 80-82, no. 20; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, »La diffusion des cultes isiaques autour de la mer Adriatique«, I, *Inscriptions et monuments*, *EPRO* 61, Leiden, 1977., p. 188; V. Paškvalin in *GZM* 47, 120-122. T. 1.4; L. Bricault, »Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes Isiaques« (later *RICIS*), De Boccard, Paris, 2005., 615/0601, A. Šačić, *Antički epigrafski spomenici*

that Titus Flavius Laedio, a city magistrate in Narona (*quattuorvir iure dicundo*), erected a funeral monument for himself and for the members of his family.

- T(ito) FLAVIO BLODI F(ilio)
PLASSO PATRI PIENTISSIMO AN(norum) L
ET FLAVIAE TATTAE MATRI
AN(norum) XXXX BENE MERITAE
5 ET T(ito) FLAVIO EPICADO FRATRI
AN(norum) XII ET T(ito) FLAVIO LAEDION(i)
AED(ile) IIII VIR(O) I(ure) D(icundo) NARONA
LAEDIO F(ecit) VIVO SIBI ET S(uis) F(iliis)

- To Titus Flavius Plassus, the son of Blodus/Blodius,
most devoted fifty year-old father,
and to Flavia Tatta,
his well deserved forty year-old mother,
5 and to Flavius Epicadus,
his twelve year-old brother, and to Titus Flavius Laedio,
aedilis and member of the court of four from Narona.
Done by Laedio, during his life, for himself and his children.*

The only decoration on the altar is a sistrum, carved on both sides. It is an Isiac cult object *par excellence*, which shows that Titus Flavius Laedio sought the protection of Isis in the afterlife for himself and his family. Based on the name formulas of Laedio and members of his family, they were of indigenous origin. Despite his background, Laedio was a distinguished citizen of Narona – probably one of the reasons he accepted the cult of Isis was to better adjust to Roman society by adhering the Imperial/Flavian religious policy.

The second monument dated to Flavian times is a high-quality marble statue of Isis, found in Aenona.⁴ Its dimensions suggest that it was a public monument,

Bosne i Hercegovine, doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Sarajevu, 2011., 00032, <http://uniheidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/>, (later EDH, visit 14. 6. 2014), 32932, <http://www.manfredclauss.de/> (later EDCS, visit 14. 6. 2014), 10000220.

- ⁴ Dimensions: 136 cm. Location: Archeological museum in Zagreb. References: W. Kubitschek in *AEMÖ*, III, 1879., pp. 3, no. 166; J. Brunšmid in *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* (visit VHAD), 1903-1904., p. 230, pl. 34.; M. Gorenc, *Antikna skulptura u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1952., no. 51; P. Selem, »Egipatska prisutnost u našoj antici«, *op. cit.* (1), 4; »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 10-11; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), p. 54, 1. 11; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 64-65, no. 9; B. Perc, *Beiträge zur Verbreitung ägyptischer Kulte auf dem Balkan und in den Donauländern zur Römerzeit*, disser., München, 1968., p. 223, no. 71; M. Suić, »Antički Nin i njegovi spomenici«, *Povijest grada Nina*, Institut JAZU, Zadar, 1969: 87, pl. 8; J. Leclant, »Inventaire Bibliographicae des Isiacae«, *Répertoire analytique des travaux relatifs à la diffusion des cultes isiaques 1940-1969*, Brill, Leiden, 1972-1991., II, 69, no. 498; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), 1977., pp. 176-177; B. Kuntić-Makvić, »Η ΕΙΚΩΝ Η ΚΑΛΗ«, *Archaeologica Adriatica* 2, Zadar, 2009., p. 335; L. Bricault, *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques*, De Boccard, Paris, 2001., p. 128; N. Cambi, *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*, Književni krug, Split, 2005., pp. 33, 35, K. A. Giunio, »Religion and myth on monuments



Statue of Isis from Aenona (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)

probably a part of a temple's inventory. The head is missing, but the typical knot of fringed scarf at the chest clearly identifies Isis.⁵ Her cult was probably easily accepted in Aenona because of the long tradition of worshipping indigenous goddesses in Liburnia. Since her statue has been dated to the same time as the *Augusteum* in honour of the Flavians, it may be supposed that Isis was deemed not only as one of the patroness of Aenona, but also of the emperor and the Empire.

Three monuments have been approximately dated to the latter half of 1st or the first half of 2nd century AD. An altar found in Iader was financed by Publius Quinctius Paris, who dedicated it to Isis, Serapis, Liber and Libera for the benefit or health (*pro salute*) of his son Scapula.⁶

from Zadar and surroundings in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar», *op. cit.* (1), pp. 218-219.

⁵ At the International Archaeological Symposium *Imperial cult in the eastern Adriatic* (Pula 1997) B. Kuntić-Makvić suggested that it could be Cleopatra's statue (*op. cit.* /4/, p. 335). N. Cambi accepted her suggestion (»Skupine carskih kipova u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji«, *Histria Antiqua* 4, Pula 1999., p. 49; *op. cit.* /4/, p. 33).

⁶ Dimensions: 85 x 50 x 38 cm. Location: Museo Maffeiiano in Verona. References: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (later *CIL*), ed. T. Mommsen et al., Berlin, vol. III, no. 2903; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916., no. 4379; L. Vidman,



Altar dedicated to Isis, Serapis, Liber and Libera by Publius Quinctius Paris from Jader
(Arheološki muzej u Zadru)

- ISIDI SERAPI LIBER[o]
 LIBERAE VOTO
 SVSCEPTO PRO SALVTE
 SCAPVLAE FILII SVI
 5 P(ublius) QVINCTIVS PARIS
 S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)
*To Isis, Sarapis, Liber,
 Libera making
 a vow to the benefit
 of his son Scapula*
 5 *Publius Quinctius Paris*
willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

On the left side of the altar Liber and Libera are represented sitting in a niche and on the right side Isis and Serapis are in the same position. The goddess holds a sistrum. On the back side of the altar there are two niches with very damaged images in relief. In the left one there are two figures, perhaps Anubis and Harpocrates, while the right one has a figure that is not recognisable. The fact that Isis and Serapis were worshipped together with Liber and Libera is not surprising since the nature of their cults was similar (they involved mystery rites). A dedication for the health of a boy serves as testimony that Isis and Serapis were worshipped as healers, as it was customary since the Ptolemaic time. The size of the monument suggests that it was a main altar in a sanctuary, which, unfortunately, is not found by now.

Furthermore, a small altar was found in Varvaria bearing a dedication to Isis.⁷

Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berlin, 1969., no. 676; G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1884., p. 164; W. Drexler, »Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern«, *Mytologische Beiträge* I, Leipzig, 1890., p. 38; »Il culto delle divinità Egiziane in Dalmazia«, *Bulletino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, XXIII, Split, 1900., p. 148; A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, Paris, 1953., p. 22; M. Suić, »Orijentalni kultovi u antičkom Zadru«, *Diadora* 3, Zadar, 1965., pp. 97-100; *Zadar u starom vijeku, Prošlost Zadra*, vol. I, Zadar, 1980., pp. 308-309; B. Perc, *op. cit.* (4), p. 225, no. 72; G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, »Preliminary catalogue of Serapis monuments«, *EPRO* 36, Leiden, 1973., p. 180, no. 908; P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 8-9; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 49-50, l. 4; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 82-83; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), pp. 178-179; B. Olujić, »Liberov kult na području rimske provincije Dalmacije«, *Latina et Graeca*, 35, Zagreb, 1990., p. 13; D. Modonesi, *Museo Maffeianno. Iscrizioni e rilievi sacri latini*, Roma, 1995., pp. 59-60, no. 58; L. Bricault, *op. cit.* (4), p. 128; *RICIS* II, 615/0201; *EDCS* 24400841.

⁷ Dimensions: 29,5 x 19 x 13 cm. Location: Archaeological collection at Bribirska glavica. References: M. Suić, »Iz mediteranske baštine jadranskih Ilira«, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, IV/4, Zadar, 1966., p. 52, P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 48-50; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 59-61, l. 18; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 55, no. 1, *L'année épigraphique*, Paris, 1981, no. 0696, B. Kuntić-Makvić, »Žrtvenik iz Varvarije posvećen božici Izidi«, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave JAZU*, VIII-IX, Zagreb, 1982., pp. 154-155; *RICIS* 615/0301; K. A. Giunio, »Egyptian gods on the



Altar dedicated to Isis by Raecia Marcella from Varvaria
(Gradski muzej Šibenik)

ISIDI
SAC(rum)
RAECIA MAR
CELLA

*Dedicated
to Isis.
Raecia
Marcella.*

The altar was dedicated to Isis by Raecia Marcella, a woman of indigenous origin. This monument is further evidence of the early acceptance of the cult of Isis among the local population in Dalmatia.

The third monument, dated approximately at the end of 1st or early 2nd century AD, is an inscription plate found in Aternum.⁸

Eastern Adriatic coast« *op. cit.* (1), p. 37, pl. 9/2; L. Bricault, *op. cit.* (4), p. 129; *RICIS* II, 615/0301; *EDH* 005428; *EDCS* 09001555.

⁸ *CIL* IX 3337; A. Salač, *Isis, Sarapis, a božstva sdružena dle svědectví řeckých a latinských napsů*, Prag, 1915., p. 69, 100; *SIRIS* 475 i 677; W. Drexler, »Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern«, *op. cit.* (6), pp. 40-41; H. von Petrikovitz, *Zur religionsgeschichte des Adriaumes in Altertum*, disser., Wien, 1933., p. 91; A. Alföldy, »Die alexandrinischen Götter und die Vota Publica«, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 8/9, Aschendorff, Munster, Westfalen, 1965., p. 116; B. Perc, *op. cit.* (4), pp. 232-233, no. 78; J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969., p. 233; P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 14-15; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 62-64, no. 2. 2; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 103-105, no. 33; »Jadran – Izidinsko more«, *Histria Antiqua*, 18, Pula 2009., pp. 180-181; M. Malaise, »Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens retrouvés en Italie« *EPRO* 21, Leiden, 1972., p. 52; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), p. 28, II, 1 i 192, no. 2; *RICIS* 615/0401; *EDH* 032727.

- L(ucio) CASSIO HERMO
 DORO NAVCLERO
 QVI ERAT IN COLLEG(io)
 SERAPIS SALON(itano) PER
 5 FRETA, PER MARIA TRA
 IECTVS SAEPE PER VND(as)
 QVI NON DEBVERAT
 OBITVS REMANERE
 IN ATERN(o), SE{T}D MECVM
 10 CONIVNX SI VIVERE
 NOLVERAS, AT STYGA
 PERPETVA VEL RATE
 FVNEREA VTINAM
 TECV(m) COMITATA
 15 FVISSE(m). VLP(ia) CANDI
 DA DOMV SALON(itana) CON(iugi)
 B(ene) M(erenti) P(osuit).

*To the shipowner
 Lucius Cassius Hermodorus
 who was a member of
 the collegium of Serapis.*

- 5 *He crossed open seas oftenly,
 seas and waters,
 the one whom wasn't destined
 to overcome the death
 in Aternum, if you*
 10 *did not want to live with me, husband,
 oh, in the underworld eternal
 or in the mortuary barge
 what a blessing that
 I was your companion.*
 15 *erected by Ulpia Candida,
 Salonitan by birth.
 To her well deserved husband.*

The sailor Lucius Cassius Hermodorus died in Aternum, as the inscription testifies, but he had spent a significant part of his life in Salona, the capital of the Roman province Dalmatia. There he joined the *collegium* of Serapis' followers. Since it is known that religious *collegia* were sometimes organized on the basis of certain occupational preferences, it may be assumed that the *collegium* of Serapis in Salona gathered sailors who worshipped him and Isis as protectors of navigation. Therefore, it has been assumed that a community of Isis' and Serapis' followers existed in Salona since the latter half of 1st century AD, and it may be supposed that cults of Isis gained official status there at the same time. Furthermore, it implies their public temple, priesthood and cult practices in the capital of Dalmatia.

The second group of Isiac monuments from Dalmatia can be dated at the latter half of 2nd or the first half of 3rd century AD. Their appearance must have been related to the Imperial propaganda on cults of Isis which proceeded during the reign of the Severan dynasty emperors (193-225 AD). They were especially favourably inclined toward Serapis, worshipping him and Isis as gods who protect Imperial well-being and progress. Serapis was named *Conservator* and that denoted his function as protector of the emperor and the Empire. Furthermore, Emperor Caracalla visited Egypt to make his vow to Serapis; he built the temple for him on the Quirinal in Rome and he was even named *Philoserapis* because of his affection for the god.⁹

A dedication to Serapis, dated approximately to the reign of the Severi, was found in Senia.¹⁰ It is carved into the base of a very damaged marble statue; only the lower part of a throne and legs of a man, probably Serapis, are preserved.

SARMENTIVS

GEMINVS

SARAPIDI DEO SANCTO

Sarmentius

Geminus

to the holy god Serapis.

It may be assumed that Sarmentius Geminus financed the erection of a monumental statue which stood in Serapis' sanctuary in Senia. Regarding the quality and the size of the statue, he was probably prominent, wealthy citizen of Senia.

⁹ P. Selem, *Izidin trag*, op. cit. (1), pp. 41-42; *Lica bogova*, op. cit. (1), pp. 50-51; L. Bricault, op. cit. (2), pp. 107-119; J.-L. Podvin, »Le tropisme isiaque des Sévères: une acmé reconsidérée?«, *Power, politics and cults of Isis, Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of Isis Studies, Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13–15, 2011*, ed. L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2014., pp. 300-325.

¹⁰ Dimensions: 27 x 28 x 21 cm. Location: Senj City Museum. References: *CIL* III 15092; A. Salač, op. cit. (8), p. 100, *SIRIS* 675; J. Brunšmid in *VHAD*, 1898-1899., pp. 172-173, pl. 76; R. Marić, *Antički kultovi u našoj zemlji*, Beograd, 1933., p. 81; J. Klemenc, *Senj u prethistorijsko i rimsko doba*, Hrvatski kulturni spomenici, 1, Zagreb, 1940., p. 6; E. and R. J. Harris, »The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain«, *EPRO*, 6, Brill, Leiden, 1965., pp. 75-76, t. XVI; B. Perc, op. cit. (4), p. 222, no. 70; P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, op. cit. (1), p. 8; *Izidin trag*, op. cit. (1), 47-48, no. 1. 1; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, op. cit. (3), p. 176; A. Glavičić, »Arheološki nalazi iz Senja i okolice«, *Senjski zbornik* III, Senj, 1982., pp. 66-68; M. Glavičić, »Natpisi antičke Senije«, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 35 (20), Zadar, 1994, 69-70; E. Ljubović, »Iscrizioni romane di Segna e dintorni«, *Atti*, XXVIII, Rovinj 1998., pp. 395-396; B. Ljubović, *Senj u prapovijesti, antici i ranom srednjem vijeku*, katalog arheološke zbirke, Gradski muzej, Senj, 2000., p. 82, no. 60; L. Bricault, op. cit. (4), 2001., p. 129; *RICIS* II, 615/0101; *EDCS* 24400840.



Bust of Isis and Serapis from Salona (Kunsthistorisches Museum u Beču)

Very characteristic bronze busts of Isis¹¹ and Serapis,¹² found together at an unknown site in Salona, have been dated to the 3rd century AD. Isis is represented with the Isiac knot on her chest and with a fringed scarf. She has a diadem on her head, from which two snakes arise. Serapis' face is framed with his coiffure *à franges* and a beard. The *kalathos* on his head is decorated with an olive branch and two ears of corn on each side. It may be said that these monuments attest to active cult practices in Salona in the 3rd century AD and its continuity from Flavian times.

¹¹ E. Freiherr von Sacken, *Die Antike Bronzen*, 90, Wien 1903., t. XXXV, 4; W. Drexler, »Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern«, *op. cit.* (6), p. 41; »Il culto delle divinità Egiziane in Dalmatia«, *op. cit.* (6), p. 146; B. Perc, *op. cit.* (4), pp. 237-238, no. 82, t. V, 1; »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), p. 15; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 70-71, no. 2. 5; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), 71-72, no. 11; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), p. 198, no. 8, t. XCVII b.

¹² E. Freiherr von Sacken, *Die antiken Bronzen des K. K. Münz- und Antikencabinet in Wien*, Wien, 1871., p. 90, no. 7, t. XIX; W. Drexler, »Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern«, *op. cit.* (6), p. 42; »Il culto delle divinità Egiziane in Dalmatia«, *op. cit.* (6), p. 148; B. Perc, *op. cit.* (4), p. 239; G. Grimm, »Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im römischen Deutschland«, *EPRO* 12, Leiden, 1969., p. 221; G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, *op. cit.* (6), p. 179, no. 904; P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), p. 15; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 71-72, no. 2. 6; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 108-110, no. 38; W. Hornbostel, »Serapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungender gestalt eines Gottes«, *EPRO* 32, Leiden, 1973., p. 280; M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), 198, no. 7, t. XCVII a.



Bust of Isis from Naronia (Arheološki muzej Naronia)

Finally, a very representative alabaster bust of Isis was found in Naronia.¹³ The fringed scarf with the Isiac knot is clearly visible. Her face is missing, as it was probably made out of a different material, as Nenad Cambi suggested.¹⁴ Since the bust dates to the same time as the renovation of the *Augusteum*, done during the time of Severan dynasty,¹⁵ it may be seen as obvious testimony to the Imperial propaganda on cults of Isis in Naronia. This statue also may be considered a confirmation of the continuity of worship of Isis in Naronia from the Flavian to Severan times.

¹³ Dimensions: 32,5 x 28 x 21 cm. Location: Archeological Museum of Naronia. References: J. Leclant, »Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan 1968-1969«, *Orientalia* 39, Roma, 1970., p. 365; N. Cambi, »Nove potvrde egipatskih kultura u antičkoj provinciji Dalmaciji«, *VAHD*, LXV-LXVII (1963-1965), Split, 1971., pp. 98-99, t. XXIII; *op. cit.* (4), pp. 100-101; P. Selem, »Egipatski bogovi u rimskom Iliriku«, *op. cit.* (1), p. 23; *Izidin trag*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 112-113, 5. 2; *Lica bogova*, *op. cit.* (1), pp. 72-74, no. 12, M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *op. cit.* (3), pp. 187-188, IV, 2; Ž. Miletić, »Religijski život u Naroni«, *Arheološka istraživanja u Naroni i dolini Neretve*, *Izdanja HAD-a* 22, 2003., p. 217; N. Cambi suggested that it could also be the portrait of an empress dressed as Isis (*op. cit.* 4/, p. 101).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* (3), pp. 98-99, t. XXIII; *op. cit.* (4), pp. 100-101.

¹⁵ *Idem.*

The nine monuments described in this paper are the only reliable testimony to the cults of Isis in Dalmatia found thus far. Unfortunately, the exact archaeological context in which the considered monuments were found is not known, nor was the site of a sanctuary ascertained anywhere. However, the figural ones are very distinguished: the statues of Isis from Aenona and Salona, like the statues of Serapis from Senia and Salona, probably adorned sanctuaries. The monumental altar from Iader, with relief images of Isis, Serapis, Liber, Libera, Anubis and Harpocrates, was also part of the inventory of a sanctuary. So, even though no evidence has been found thus far, it may be assumed that sanctuaries, cult officials and festivals dedicated to Isis existed in the Dalmatian coastal towns such as Senia, Iader, Aenona and Salona.

Five inscriptions testifying to the cults of Isis in the Roman province Dalmatia provide the most vital information on the appropriation of Isiac cults there. Based on the name formulas of Isis' and Serapis' worshippers – even though there are only five of them – it may be surmised that persons of differing social rank and origin were adherents of cults of Isis in Dalmatia from the first to third centuries AD. Titus Flavius Laedio was Naron's magistrate and the most prominent among worshippers thus confirmed. Regarding the quality and the size of monuments they erected, Sarmentius Geminus from Senia and Publius Quinctius Paris from Iader were also prominent and wealthy citizens, members of high society. Lucius Cassius Hermodorus was a sailor from Aternum. Two worshippers were of indigenous origin: Titus Flavius Laedio from Naron and Raecia Marcella from Varvaria.

Hermodorus' inscription attests to the *collegium* of Serapis' worshippers in Salona. Such community probably gathered sailors and it can be assumed that protection of navigation was one of the reasons for the acceptance of Serapis' cult in Dalmatia. The dedication of Publius Quinctius Paris from Iader for the benefit or health of his son, dated to the same period, implies that Isis and Serapis were worshipped as healing gods and this would be an additional reason for the acceptance of their cult there. Furthermore, the strong tradition of worshipping gods within cults of a similar nature, especially its Liburnian part (Senia, Iader, Aenona), created fertile ground for the Isiac cults to be appropriated in Dalmatia from its first to the latest attestations. Finally, the monuments have been approximately dated to two periods: the reigns of Flavian and Severan dynasties, whose members promoted these cults.¹⁶ In the case of Aenona and Naron, a relationship between the cults of Isis and the Imperial cult may also be suggested. Therefore, it can be said that the dominant reason for the appropriation of cults of Isis in Dalmatia must have been the expression of affection and loyalty to the Roman Imperial house.

¹⁶ The continuity of cult practices in Salona and Naron from Flavian to Severan times may also be confirmed.

IZIDINI KULTOVI U DALMACIJI

Inga Vilogorac Brčić

Predmeti i epigrafski spomenici, uglavnom pronađeni u prometnim lukama (Senija – Senj, Jader – Zadar, Enona – Nin, Salona – Solin i Narona – Vid), ukazuju da su Izidini kultovi u Dalmaciji potvrđeni od prve polovice prvoga do trećega stoljeća. Rad obrađuje devet epigrafskih i materijalnih spomenika koji jasno svjedoče o kultu i sljedbenicima sljedbenicima egipatskih božanstava. U obzir nisu uzeti brojni spomenici nepoznate provenijencije ni oni pronađeni u pogrebnom kontekstu: drago kamenje (game), svjetiljke, amajlije ili mali kipovi koji su vjerojatno imali magijsko ili apotropejsko značenje.

Na temelju imenskih formula s natpisa posvećenih Izidi može se pretpostaviti da su osobe različitog društvenog ranga i porijekla od prvoga do trećega stoljeća bile božićini sljedbenici. Najvažniji spomenik datiran u drugu polovicu 1. ili prvu polovicu 2. st. jest natpis mornara Lucija Kasija Hermodora iz Aterna koji svjedoči o zajednici (*collegium*) Serapisovih sljedbenika u Saloni. Takva je zajednica vjerojatno okupljala mornare i upućuje na zaključak da je zaštita plovidbe jedan od razloga prihvaćanja Serapisova kulta u Dalmaciji. Zavjet Publija Kvinkcija Parisa iz Jadera za dobrobit ili zdravlje njegova sina podrazumijeva da su Izida i Serapis štovani kao bogovi iscjeljenja što bi bio dodatni razlog prihvaćanja njihova kulta na tim prostorima. Dva štovatelja pouzdano su autohtonog podrijetla: Tit Flavije Ledion iz Narone i Recija Marcela iz Varvarije (Bribir). Snažna tradicija štovanja ženskih bogova u provinciji Dalmaciji, posebice u njezinu liburnskom dijelu (Senija, Jader, Enona), zasigurno je poticala prihvaćanje Izidinih kultova u vrijeme Flavijevaca.

Figuralni spomenici koji su razmotreni vrlo su reprezentativni; Izidini kipovi iz Jadera, Enone, Salone i Narone vjerojatno su krasili svetišta. Stoga se može pretpostaviti da su u spomenutim dalmatinskim obalnim gradovima postojala svetišta u kojima su štovani bogovi Izidina kruga iako do sada o tome nisu pronađeni nikakvi dokazi.

Konačno, jedan od razloga prisvajanja Izidinih kultova u Dalmaciji bio je izraz naklonosti i odanosti rimskoj carskoj dinastiji; svi opisani spomenici datiraju se otprilike u dva razdoblja, vrijeme vladavine dinastija Flavijevaca i Severa, koje su promicale navedene kultove. U Enoni i Naroni može se pratiti i odnos između Izidina i carskoga kulta.